



A Touristic Angle of Vision: Tourist Studies as a Methodological Approach for the Study of Religions

Thomas S. Bremer*

Rhodes College

Abstract

Studying religions through the framework of tourist studies destabilizes conventional notions of ‘religion’ and introduces new questions for historians and other scholars who study religions in the Americas as well as for the academic study of religions more broadly. This essay briefly reviews key themes in regard to religious tourism, then considers some of the methodological and theoretical advantages of employing a touristic approach to the study of religions, and ends by suggesting avenues that show promise for future studies that pair religion and tourism. It includes discussions of religious pilgrimage, religious places and events that attract tourist visitors, and tourist destinations that feature religious themes or are intended to appeal specifically to religious adherents. It also discusses key theoretical works in developing a tourist studies methodological approach for the academic study of religions.

A good many years ago, while living in a part of rural Ohio interspersed with Amish farms, I enjoyed long bicycle rides through the countryside. On one Sunday morning ride I happened upon an Amish farm with a number of the distinctive black buggies parked in the yard. A couple of Amish families were walking toward the big barn, and I quickly realized that I had come upon an Amish religious gathering. I paused to take in the quaint, picturesque scene set in the lovely Ohio landscape on that springtime morning.

It did not cross my mind at the time, nor would I likely have been willing to entertain the notion, that I was engaging in a moment of religious tourism. It was at best a moment of ‘accidental tourism’, for I had not set out that morning deliberately seeking the Amish. But the aesthetic pleasure I felt, my perception of specialness in the moment, the visual framing of the scene from the road, my itinerant circumstance in contrast to the Amish community’s locative connection to the place of our encounter, and the awareness of perceived identities in my touristic gaze, all conform to the conventions of tourism. Moreover, an unwillingness to admit to my tourist identity itself reveals a powerful marker of touristic discourse; denying one’s status as a tourist, as numerous scholars have pointed out, is integral to touristic practices and discourses (MacCannell 1999 [1976]; Culler 1981). Missing from this scene, however, was the pervasive commodification that tourism brings to such encounters; the brief moment passed without monetizing our ephemeral and somewhat distant relationship. Certainly, I could have captured the scene on film to sell to others or even concocted an entrepreneurial initiative to bring other curious tourists out into the Ohio countryside on subsequent Sunday mornings to view the Amish in worship. Fortunately for all of us, I had no such ambitions. My touristic instincts were fully satisfied in the momentary pleasure of aesthetic appreciation.

Aside from raising the question of what constitutes ‘tourism’ (itself a term that remains not entirely clear in tourist studies), my recollection of this spontaneous moment of touristic encounter invites attention to numerous issues surrounding religion in America, including the perception of religious otherness in a pluralistic society, the aesthetic appeal of religions in a

commodified culture, and the opportunities for mutual encounter and engagement between religious communities and tourist visitors. Certainly, much of the tourism industry's enthusiasm for religious attractions serves to reinforce conventional categories of 'religion', but at the same time a tourist studies approach to the study of religions can offer theoretical and methodological advantages for destabilizing essentialist notions of 'religion', both academic and colloquial.

Although people have engaged in recreational and edifying travels since ancient times (Feifer 1985), tourism in the contemporary world exemplifies important social tendencies of modernity (MacCannell (1999 [1976], pp. 2–4)). Thus, a methodological perspective on religion from a tourist studies angle can reveal how modern (and postmodern) people, both inside the academy and in nonacademic discourses, imagine 'religion' as a useful category of classification, analysis, and interpretation of particular cultural phenomena. Indeed, at some level encounters of unfamiliar religious people and practices, whether deliberately or by happenstance (as in the accidental tourism recounted in the opening anecdote), involve performances of touristic conventions that incorporate the religiosity of others into tourist experiences while at the same time affirming modern expectations of phenomena deemed 'religious'. Consequently, studying these encounters through a touristic angle of vision can introduce new questions relevant for scholarly discourses regarding religions. In this essay I will briefly review key themes in regard to tourists who interact with religious phenomena, then consider some of the methodological and theoretical advantages of employing a touristic angle of vision in the study of religions, and end by suggesting avenues that show promise for future studies that pair religion and tourism.

In considering the methodological benefits of pairing religion and tourism, this essay concentrates on the Americas, which are both exceptional and unexceptional in regard to tourist studies. Like all places, American tourist destinations have their own distinctive qualities and unique histories as sites of touristic interest. Yet despite the peculiarities of the American case, nothing about it is exceptionally unusual in the larger contexts of global tourism. In other words, tourism in the Americas is both exemplary and typical of tourism everywhere. On the other hand, for scholars who specialize in the study of religions in the Americas a touristic angle of vision expands our field of study by reminding us of the transnational character of American religions; not unlike tourists, religious people in the contemporary world enact complex relationships to national and ethnic identities. Moreover, the dynamic performative elements involved in tourist practices, including the complicated processes that establish and maintain tourist destinations as appealing, alert us also to the contingent, performative nature of cultural phenomena regarded (by us and/or by the people we study) as 'religious'.

Tourists Encountering Religion

Among the obvious themes regarding intersections of religion and tourism are three prominent topics: religious pilgrimages; religious places and events that attract significant numbers of tourist visitors; and tourist destinations that feature religious themes or are intended to appeal specifically to religious adherents. In regard to the first, a key question has to do with the distinction between tourism and pilgrimage. On the one hand, this is a historical question, at least regarding the history of Christianity; tourism in the modern world has a close historical relation to Christian pilgrimage traditions in early modern Europe (Kaelber 2006). On the other hand, the implied distinction between tourism and pilgrimage relies on essentialist understandings of both terms that have been subject to reevaluation in recent years. The trend in tourist studies has been to a performative view of tourism that demonstrates the complexities and fluidity of phenomena that goes under the term 'tourism' (Knudsen & Rickly-Boyd 2012, p. 1253). Consequently, the perceived distinction between pilgrims and tourists has been

blurred. As anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner (1978, p. 20) have noted, 'a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist'. This is certainly true today. The performative acts of most contemporary religious pilgrims rely on modern tourist practices to make their journeys possible: they utilize automobiles, buses, airlines, and other modern modes of travel to get them to where they are going; many stay in hotels and other lodging facilities catering to tourist travelers; they often eat in restaurants and other food service establishments that tourists patronize; and more than a few refer to maps and guidebooks as they follow conventional tourist itineraries. Virtually all of these logistical facilities are made available and promoted by the entrepreneurial networks of the tourist industry. Indeed, most pilgrims are not merely religious travelers; many of them to some degree are tourists too.

This blurring of distinctions between pilgrimage and tourism has gained scholarly attention in several recent studies. One collection of essays, *On the Road to Being There: Studies in Pilgrimage and Tourism in Late Modernity* (Swatos Jr. 2006), pushes the boundaries of pilgrimage as an academic category beyond conventional perspectives. Essays in the collection explore religious travel in a variety of contemporary contexts, including 'spiritual tourism' in Brazil (pp. 105–123), the Burning Man Festival in Nevada (pp. 125–158), Ground Zero in New York City as sacred space (pp. 159–185), Roman Catholic pilgrimage to Saint Joseph's Oratory in Montreal (pp. 256–275), and issues of identity for Seventh-day Adventists and for Mormons at their respective pilgrimage destinations in upstate New York (pp. 297–327). The permeable border between religious pilgrimages and tourist journeys also gets attention in at least two recent monographs on American religious people. Hillary Kaell's *Walking Where Jesus Walked: American Christians and Holy Land Pilgrimage* (2014) offers an ethnographic account of American pilgrim tourists to the 'Holy Land'; it considers both evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics as they travel to Israel and the Palestinian territories as tourists on ostensibly religious excursions. In contrast to Kaell's interest in American tourists abroad, David Howlett's book *Kirtland Temple: The Biography of a Shared Mormon Sacred Space* (2014) takes a close look at an American destination; it presents a historical and sociological study of an important Mormon location in Ohio, the first temple erected under the direction of Joseph Smith, the religion's founder. By focusing on the contested nature of a site recognized by different groups with historical connections to Smith, Howlett develops the notion of 'parallel pilgrimage' to account for the different experiences of visitors with varying religious orientations.

A second area for scholarly interest in relationships between religion and tourism involves specifically religious places and events that attract significant numbers of tourist visitors where 'religion', as tourists and purveyors of the tourist industry regard it, becomes the appealing object of tourist desire. The aesthetic attraction of sacred architecture, of devotional practices, of religious pageantry and celebrations, as well as the historical significance of places and commemorative events associated with particular religious traditions find their way into touristic discourse and are subject to processes of commodification that facilitate visitation by leisure travelers. California's famous Spanish colonial missions, Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, the Bahá'í House of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois, and the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., are a few of the more commonly mentioned tourist destinations in the United States with religious associations. The aforementioned appeal of Amish religious communities has precipitated a significant tourist economy in parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana (Trollinger 2012). Among religiously oriented events in the Americas that attract crowds of tourists each year are Mardi Gras celebrations in New Orleans (Gotham 2007) as well as Carnival in Rio de Janeiro; the Burning Man Festival in the Black Desert of Nevada (Gilmore 2010); the vernal equinox festivities at Chichén Itzá in the state of Yucatán in Mexico (Castañeda 1996); and a host of Native American celebrations, especially powwows (Aldred 2005). Entrepreneurial efforts to capture tourist dollars also stage faux

religious events for the benefit of visitors; for instance, Hawaiian lúau shows commonly performed for tourists throughout the islands are an example of this religion-as-entertainment trend (Desmond 1999).

A third opportunity for exploring the relationships between religion and tourism in the modern world are tourist attractions explicitly based on religious themes or that are intended specifically to appeal to religious adherents. A number of places that fit this description have been studied in recent years, although most have tended toward evangelical Protestantism in theme and in audience. Timothy K. Beal's collection (2005) has several essays on Christian theme parks that include Holy Land United States in Virginia, The Holy Land Experience in Florida, the now defunct Golgotha Fun Park in Kentucky, and the Precious Moments Inspiration Park in Missouri; he also reviews Christian monumental installations commemorating Old Testament themes at God's Ark of Safety in Maryland and the Fields of Woods in North Carolina where visitors encounter 'the world's largest ten commandments' (p. 102). In addition, Beal's book includes chapters on unusual art installations and offbeat collections with evangelical interests, specifically William C. Rice's 'Cross Garden' in Alabama and folk artist Howard Finster's 'Paradise Gardens' in Georgia. In a similar vein, Aaron K. Ketchell's more historically oriented monograph that explores the dynamics of religion and tourism in Branson, Missouri, details the religious history of a town that has become a major tourist destination with religion as an important attraction for tourist visitors (Ketchell 2007).

There is, of course, considerable overlap between the three themes of pilgrimage, of religious sites that attract tourists, and of tourist destinations that appeal to religious sensibilities; these are not mutually exclusive categories. All three are often evident, for instance, in memorials and monuments commemorating national tragedies and heroic sacrifices. Places like Ground Zero in New York City, site of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, site of an earlier terrorist bombing, have been characterized as religious spaces that serve as pilgrimage destinations while also operating as tourist attractions (Sturken 2007). Tourism often becomes prominent in such places of national importance by capitalizing on a perception of their sacred character. In contrast, tourists' interests can introduce new interpretations that accommodate the religious expectations of visitors. The religious motives of New Age tourists visiting places like Machu Picchu in Peru, for instance, has urged local entrepreneurs to emphasize religious perspectives that conform to the interests of pilgrim tourists arriving from Europe, North America, and elsewhere (Hill 2008).

The Touristic Elucidation of Religion

Besides serving as an interpretive frame for specific places and activities of a religious nature, a touristic angle of vision can also elucidate more generic issues in the study of religions. Particularly relevant to contemporary religions in the Americas, a tourist studies approach to religion offers insights into how people, including both religious adherents and the scholars who study them, regard the perceived distinction between sacred and secular; it also highlights how communities, institutions, and individuals that regard themselves as religious are complicit with the forces of market capitalism; and it reveals how the flows of capital, culture, ideas, and people in a thoroughly globalized world affect how people, including scholars who study religions, deem some things religious and other things not religious.

At the most general level, a tourist studies approach to the study of religions destabilizes assumptions about what constitutes a religion or religious phenomena. It begins by setting aside lexical and intuitive ('I know it when I see it') definitions of religion that rely on essentialist assumptions; instead it highlights a more performative, constructivist view that explores how recreational travel practices create religions and religious phenomena for the benefit of travelers,

travel industry operatives, and even for the local people who adhere to ways of life that they and/or others regard as religious. This sort of critical investigation raises pertinent questions regarding how religious claims serve as boundary-making social practices; how global and local economic concerns influence and to some extent determine the cultural practices and social formations regarded as religious; and how cultural assumptions and socially determined expectations about religions, spirituality, and meaningfulness generate aesthetically pleasing experiences that many recreational travelers desire. Similar to other recent critical reassessments of the academic study of religions (McCutcheon 2001; Masuzawa 2005; Taves 2009; Lofton 2011; Vásquez 2011), a touristic view of religions offers a methodological approach that does not regard religion as a cultural given, but considers how historical circumstances, economic forces, and aesthetic values conspire in processes of deeming things religious.

Although a latecomer to the interdisciplinary methodologies that make up the field of religious studies, tourist studies (itself an interdisciplinary field) has become more prevalent in the last ten to fifteen years among a small but growing number of religious studies scholars. In fact, interest in religion as a fundamental element of tourism goes back to one of the earliest and most influential tourist studies volumes, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* by sociologist Dean MacCannell (1999 [1976]). Invoking a Durkheimian functionalist tendency, MacCannell relates tourism to the social role of religion in modern societies; he contends 'that tourist attractions are precisely analogous to the religious symbolism of primitive peoples' (p. 2). Not everyone agrees with this view of tourism and its social function. Other sociologists in the wake of MacCannell's work have taken a less structuralist view of tourism in the modern world. Notable among these is John Urry whose notion of 'the tourist gaze' has been an influential element in subsequent tourist studies analyses (Urry 1990). In fact, Urry argues that we now live in a post-tourist era, that the dominance of 'disorganized capitalism' in post-Fordist society involves 'the end of tourism' (1995, p. 148).

In addition to sociologists, other social science scholars have turned attention to the relationship between religion and tourism, especially regarding the anthropology of tourism. Following the previously noted reference to the connection between pilgrimage and tourism by anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner, other anthropologists have explored this relationship in more depth. The collection *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* brought attention to the social impacts of tourism by focusing upon relationships between local 'hosts' and visitor 'guests' (Smith 1989). A later collection of essays, *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Badone & Roseman 2004), questions the categorical dichotomy between pilgrimage and tourism by highlighting instances of contestation that blur the distinctions between tourists and pilgrims.

The earliest treatments of religion and tourism tended to neglect a critical view of the essentialist categories of either religion or tourism in favor of celebrating a felicitous union of travelers seeking spiritual bounty in unfamiliar places; this view characterizes an early volume by Boris Vukonic (1996) which tends to regard tourism as a fundamentally religious (or at least spiritual) pursuit of what he calls *Homo turisticus religiosus* and argues, 'tourism provides people with the conditions for the spiritual enrichment of the individual and his or her constant self-development as a personality' (p. 18). He predicts that as more people find spiritual fulfillment outside the bounds of ecclesiastical institutions, the religious motives of travel will become even more prevalent.

In contrast to Vukonic's rather uncritical essentialist celebration of religion and tourism as complementary resources that elicit travelers' spiritual enrichment, several works have attempted to pursue a more critical research agenda for studies of the touristic engagement of religion. I present, for instance, in my earliest work (Bremer 2004; 2005) theoretical and methodological approaches that highlight place, identity, aesthetics, and commodification.

These first efforts, however, display little concern for troubling the concept of religion, but instead note strong parallels between religion (an essentialist concept derived almost exclusively from western monotheistic perspectives) and the practices of tourists: both create special (i.e., sacred) places and involve experiential contributions to identity through interactions with these special places; the aesthetic qualities of religion comport well with the touristic compulsion to aestheticize cultures, peoples, and practices, and the religious elements that generate aesthetic value among tourists are commodified for tourist consumption.

In further pursuing critical studies of religion and tourism, a collection of essays that appeared in 2006 brought together a multidisciplinary group of authors to present a wide-ranging overview of tourism, religion, and spiritual journeys (Timothy & Olsen 2006). The editors explain in their introduction that they aim 'to contribute to the growing literature on religiously motivated travel by reviewing and challenging existing paradigms, concepts, and practices related to pilgrimage and other forms of religious travel' (p. 3). The collection as a whole, though, shows varying levels of commitment to the editors' more capacious perspective on religion, the sacred, and spirituality; in particular, they demonstrate little concern for problematizing the categories of 'religion' or 'spiritual' as essentialist concepts. Nevertheless, the book includes useful introductions to religious tourism in a wide range of traditions, from Buddhists to Mormons to New Age practitioners.

A step forward in theorizing relationships between 'religion' and 'tourism' arrived with Michael Stausberg's *Religion and Tourism: Crossroads, Destinations, and Encounters* (2011) which sets out to challenge the sacred versus secular dichotomy in religious studies that regards religion and tourism as mutually exclusive phenomena. Stausberg's book draws attention to the reality that tourism has become 'a major arena, context, and medium for religion in the contemporary global world' (p. 8). The intention to subvert the sacred/secular dichotomy, however, struggles in the subsequent attempt to systematize the various modes of intersection between religion and tourism found in a staggering number of places throughout the world; the book's inclusion of so many examples leaves little opportunity for serious exploration of the provocative implications that such sites raise for how scholars regard religion. Still, Stausberg gives us a set of useful questions and suggests valuable insights for reimagining religion as a performative social construct and how it functions in contexts of global capitalism.

Another recent book (Norman 2011) highlights subjective tourist experiences of travelers who occupy a blurred region between tourist and religious seeker. Alex Norman describes these travelers' journeys as 'spiritual tourism' involving 'a tourist who undertakes a spiritual practice or seeks spiritual progression in the course of their travels, usually with the intention of gaining "spiritual benefit"' (p. 17). Norman's work raises critical questions about perceived distinctions between 'religious' and 'spiritual'; it also suggests questions regarding the extent to which spirituality itself is a product of market capitalism. Although his analysis has little theoretical reflection on how the rhetoric of spirituality itself panders to consumerist sensibilities, it offers useful insights into the collusion of spirituality and tourism in constructing travelers' self-understandings.

The Touristic Future

As scholars of religions continue to pursue investigations constrained by 'neither the boundaries of canon nor of community', in Jonathan Z. Smith's formulation (1988 p. xi), a touristic angle of vision can serve as a useful approach for getting at new questions of academic concern. Not least of these are the manner in which communities, institutions, cultural traditions, and perspectives regarded (by both scholars and adherents) as 'religious' are inextricably entangled with things not usually thought of as religious. Among other concerns, a tourist studies approach requires

us to consider how things deemed religious involve commodifications that are integral to the deeming process. The relevant research questions here have to do with the extent to which things regarded as religions are products of a consumerist epistemology, for adherents but also for the scholarly enterprise as well. Closely related to this line of inquiry are questions of aesthetics and meaning. Here scholars might consider how the aesthetic importance of authenticity and the meaningful values attributed to things deemed religious rely on the logic and practical objectives of marketplace capitalism. In short, employing a touristic approach encourages investigation of how the commodity value of aesthetic desire translates to religious value, and likewise how the aesthetics of religious value translate to commodity value.

At the same time, a tourist studies methodological orientation can demonstrate how essentialist notions of religion are utilized and rhetorically bolstered in tourist cultures, economies, and discourses. For instance, Stausberg (2011) includes a chapter on 'mediators' that demonstrates the formative role of tour guides, guidebooks, internet web sites, and souvenirs in developing the expectations of tourist visitors to religious sites and events. These instruments of touristic mediation usually present 'religion' in static stereotypes that appeal to the aesthetic sensibilities of potential visitors; often in guidebooks, Stausberg notes, local religions appear 'as timeless entities and are detached from their contexts' (202). In their actual experience of these tourist attractions, visitors consequently affirm their own static, essentialist views of religions, those of others as well as their own.

The touristic constructions of religious phenomena and the subsequent mediations of essentialist perceptions of religion in the tourist economy not only elucidate relationships between religion and the consumer marketplace but they also can help us understand the role of religion in issues of racial difference, gender relations, socioeconomic class disparities, and a range of related historical, sociological, and anthropological concerns. As an example, indigenous people making items for sale to tourist visitors and performing ritual ceremonies for the edification and entertainment of outsiders raises important questions about the aestheticization and commodification of difference, how perceived differences are constructed and disseminated, who benefits from such practices, and the extent to which touristic discourses of authenticity contribute to continued disparities in opportunities for historically marginalized people. On the other side, how might the religious commitments and perspectives of recreational travelers contribute to their aesthetic appreciation of the commodified attractions they visit? Scholars trained as experts in particular religious traditions can make significant contributions to understanding the appeal for religious adherents who engage in such pursuits as heritage tourism, adventure tourism, ecotourism, voluntourism, and even space tourism. At least some of these pursuits have origins in the ethos of particular religious orientations and traditions, and any attempt to make historical sense of them remains incomplete without reference to their relationships with religious cultures.

Another area for future methodological employment of a touristic angle of vision has to do with the growth and viability of religious institutions. In a religiously pluralistic society such as the United States where, at least in principle, no particular religious group enjoys the preferential support of the state, a free-market orientation is a necessary element in ecclesiastical life. For scholars interested in how religious communities sustain themselves in such an environment both historically and in contemporary contexts, attention to the conventions of aestheticization and commodification along with strategies of mediation that are so easily recognizable in tourist practices can reveal striking parallels to the strategies of adaptation that many religious communities and organizations have employed. Appealing to their members and potential members with an aesthetically pleasing and meaningful experience puts religious groups in close proximity to the travel practices deployed at tourist destinations and in tourist activities everywhere. The question for scholars of the future may not be so much about

whether the tools of a tourist studies methodology can be appropriately applied to things deemed religious, but rather to what extent do tourists and religious adherents employ common strategies and discourses in their respective endeavors.

The study of tourism also requires attention to transnational networks. For future scholars of religious studies, the movements of tourists, promotional images, and the material goods of the tourist economy across national borders add significant dimensions to the transnational realities of religion in a globalized economy. Immigrants, refugees, and international students are not the only subjects transporting local religions to distant places; tourists also participate in the global economy of religious exchange. Additional scholarly attention is needed for better understanding how touristic mediations affect the transnational practices of religious adherents.

In sum, attention to tourism as a set of cultural phenomena and the various touristic practices those phenomena encompass and engender gives us insights into questions about capitalist structures and the profit-making logics of contemporary societies that influence much of what is both colloquially and academically regarded as 'religion'. It also takes us into relationships between capitalism, aesthetics, and religious imaginations in the profitable efforts at meaning-making in contemporary cultures set in global contexts. The work of demystification applies here to revealing the colonial grip by which neo-liberal capitalist regimes have utilized the religious imaginary to produce satisfied consumers reveling in commodified experiences that benefit far-away profit centers. In many ways, religion has become less the opiate of the people and more the desirable commodity of the consumer. The implications of this analysis resonate far beyond tourist destinations and church gift shops, but attention to specifically touristic processes, practices, and places offers remarkably transparent cases of this larger context at play.

Short Biography

Thomas S. Bremer (PhD in Religion, Princeton University, 2001) teaches American religious history, methods and theories in the study of religions, and various other courses in the Religious Studies Department at Rhodes College, Memphis, Tennessee. He is the author of *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion Tourism in San Antonio* (2004, University of North Carolina Press), and a textbook on American religious history titled *Formed from This Soil: An Introduction to the Diverse History of Religion in America* (Wiley Blackwell, 2015). In addition, he has published a number of articles on the intersections of religion tourism.

Note

* Correspondence: Rhodes College, Memphis, TN, USA. Email: bremert@rhodes.edu

Works Cited

- Aldred, L. (2005). Dancing with Indians and Wolves: New Agers Tripping Through Powwows. In: C Ellis, LE Lassiter and GH Dunham, (eds.) *Powwow*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Badone, E. & Roseman, S. R., (eds.) (2004). *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Beal, T. K. (2005). *Roadside Religion: In Search of the Sacred, the Strange, and the Substance of Faith*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bremer, T. S. (2004). *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- . (2005). Tourism and Religion. In: L Jones, (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Castañeda, Q. E. (1996). *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichén Itzá* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Culler, J. (1981). Semiotics of Tourism. *American Journal of Semiotics* 1: 127–140.

- Desmond, J. (1999). *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feifer, M. (1985). *Going Places: The Ways of the Tourist from Imperial Rome to the Present Day*. London: Macmillan.
- Gilmore, L. (2010). *Theater in a Crowded Fire: Ritual and Spirituality at Burning Man*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gotham, K. F. (2007). *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy*. New York: New York University Press.
- Hill, M. (2008). Inca of the Blood, Inca of the Soul: Embodiment, Emotion, and Racialization in the Peruvian Mystical Tourist Industry. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 76: 251–279.
- Howlett, D. J. (2014). *Kirtland Temple: The Biography of a Shared Mormon Sacred Space*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kaelber, L. (2006). Paradigms of Travel: From Medieval Pilgrimage to the Postmodern Virtual Tour. In: DJ Timothy and DH Olsen, (eds.) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. New York: Routledge.
- Kaell, H. (2014). *Walking Where Jesus Walked: American Christians and Holy Land Pilgrimage*. New York: New York University Press.
- Ketchell, A. K. (2007). *Holy Hills of the Ozarks: Religion and Tourism in Branson, Missouri*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Knudsen, D. C. & Rickly-Boyd, J. M. (2012). Tourism Sites as Semiotic Signs: A Critique. *Annals of Tourism Research* 39: 1252–1254.
- Lofton, K. (2011). *Oprah: The Gospel of an Icon*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Maccannell, D. 1999 [1976]. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Masuzawa, T. (2005). *The Invention of World Religions, Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McCutcheon, R. T. (2001). *Critics Not Caretakers: Redescribing the Public Study of Religion*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Norman, A. (2011). *Spiritual Tourism: Travel and Religious Practice in Western Society*. New York: Continuum.
- Smith, J. Z. (1988). *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, V. L. (ed.) (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stausberg, M. (2011). *Religion and Tourism: Crossroads, Destinations, and Encounters*. New York: Routledge.
- Sturken, M. (2007). *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Swatos, W. H. Jr. (ed.) (2006). *On the Road to Being There: Studies in Pilgrimage and Tourism in Late Modernity*. Boston: Brill.
- Taves, A. (2009). *Religious Experience Reconsidered: A Building Block Approach to the Study of Religion and Other Special Things*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Timothy, D. J. & Olsen, D. H. (eds.) (2006). *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. New York: Routledge.
- Trollinger, S. L. (2012). *Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Turner, V. & Turner, E. (1978). *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- . (1995). *Consuming Places*. New York: Routledge.
- Vásquez, M. A. (2011). *More Than Belief: A Materialist Theory of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vukonic, B. (1996). *Tourism and Religion*. New York: Pergamon.